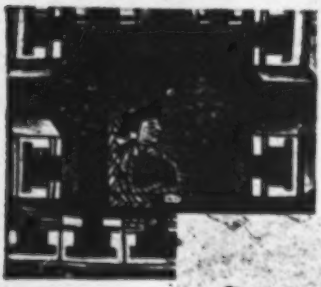
1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531



Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

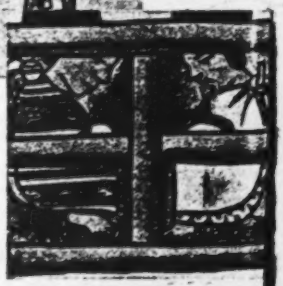
Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

[326]

Thief



[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

[701
411
714]

PLATES 34-35

## AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

[p. 112(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7



the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The *telpuchcalli*, houses of youth, through which boys passed at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl*. Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For defensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7



714 by the maturer warriors. A tribesman had the right to elaborate his dress in accordance with his prowess, and the great chiefs wore attached to their backs immense frames covered with feathers. Tribes, and even clans, wore special insignia, so that friend could be distinguished from foe and chief from common warrior. The term uniform could hardly be used, since the rich variety and indulgence in individual fancy produced a kaleidoscopic effect in the motley array of bright colors and strange forms.[8]

712 To supply these forces was a very considerable task. Each quarter of the town had its *tlacochcalco*, or house of darts, an arsenal where the military supplies were stored. This was situated near the chief temple, the lofty sides of which made it a natural strong point. At a call to arms the clan leaders could rapidly assemble their men and equip them at these rallying points, which were also centers of the religious and social life of the community.[9]

724 An offensive campaign was a more serious undertaking. Having no beasts of burden, the warriors had to carry their own food with them. Due to the governmental system, wherein each town was independent, the armies did not dare live off the country for fear of inciting revolt and also because most communities lacked the food to sustain a large body of men. Thus, prior to a war, negotiations had to be made whereby supplies could be concentrated and allies brought together at a point as near as possible to the zone of attack. Usually a single battle decided the issue, since the [726] attacking force could not maintain itself in the field for more than a very few days. The calculations necessary to fight a war two or three hundred miles away in Oaxaca, say, were highly complex, and much of the Aztec force on such a cam-

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan quiztilo, teimitilo, teiximachtilo, quintlamamaca, quinmamaca yn jmamanechichioal:

ynjc ceppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatquj.

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc cepa ichoutl yn intlatquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

iccen quinchichioaia, iccen quinmacaia, iccen quitquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic quintlatlatizque, ynjo ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oaoanozque ça iccen quicuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo quipapatla: yoan vltica quinoahoanchichioa.

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac totoliujtica.

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalitotiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlattitia, ynjc oaoano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoaçotiuh, quitilquetztiuh in chicaoaztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

Auh muchinti, iuh muchichioaia, yn ixquichtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oahoanozque, yn iquac oacic ilhujtl tlacaxipeoaliztli.

796 X
289
292

[314]
796 X
292
[237]

[714
534]

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...search and University of Utah, 1950) Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of worm yopi, and its substitute in Zipa'naw, see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 39.

[796] must cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his [793] round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of [292] his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tzitzinhio: njman conmonamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

[302] And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mixquatexoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzoujaia, conapetzotiaia:

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yaxkli*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatzatli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatzatli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatextli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoaztli:

And a number of priests carried in their arms rub- [314] ber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlrtetu:

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which [257] were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ie iuhquj ỹ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in ỹxqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oquintetrecpanque, qujntzitzitzquitimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemotzoltzitzquitimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamaxtoton, yn oaxioaque, tolinoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ie oncoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

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16. *"Una manta delgada aguujereada, que se llama atenhoquetzqui"* (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions *"mantas delgadas que llaman xpall"* (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 46).

17. *"Una flor de papel grande anuida, redonda a manera de rodela"* (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the diagonchpanoual as *"ornamento, que va sobre el pescueço."*

18. *"Al colodrillo, unas flores de papel, anudaos fruncidos, que sobrevasan a anudos partes de la cabeça a manera de orejas de papel, cosas medias redondas,"* and, later in the same chapter, *"ora ornamento, que se ponyan trae el colodrillo, cosas con flor hecha de papel"* (*loc. cit.*).

19. "Mexican warriors (*teyaoalmeme*) colored the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (*aquetzali*)" (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. *"Hay otra que se llama yauhtli. Es muy verde, tiene muchas ramas y crecen todas juntas hazia arriba: (y) siempre huele; es conocida medicinal para las que tienen calenturas, molida y bebida con el cacao; huec de tauar, y despues molida y mezclada con el cacao. Aprouecha mezclada para las que siempre vomyta; y para las que tienen calenturas"* (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 270).

21. Probably the assistant of *quaquacuilloa* is meant by *quacujlli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quacujlli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following once more, the *Real Palacio* MS continues a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*; and *almoçadas yemich yetoc ecuepalli, anael, in tlachichinolli yenel peper y yemich ezuc, anael yzcuh yolcuitech, yzcuh yxochimah, yuic tlacuilolli ecuepalqui, quetzalpatlatzi, ezuca quecuechtlahuac*,—and in the midst of them went what is called a mud war, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper went hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted knighthoods with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence.

And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

[701] And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in izquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoā, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn incuechin, muchi tenjxo, yoan muchintin inxiximh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, qujnamictia, cequj aujtlatztli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlazantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymaachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn ixquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in totototenpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aqujque in mocecenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjxe, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cōquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, excan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, occlueoatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintlā excan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin qūatototl in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cōtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçacoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tliltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 144) has *down Perlenhalsband* for *yacameuhcheapar*.

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tilli: itoca aujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoā qujtecoçānujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iubqujn tzitzintlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iubqujn chach-paca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimāca, ixtlagantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapieia, vel teixpieia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoquin jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlàtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 535

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan ceniauh yn imicxi: yoan ontzitzinqujça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn izqujpantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn

6. See Plate 28.

X796
532
714
411
292

[415]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[p. 102 D]

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[34]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-weaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl: [796 714 411]

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlaubtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaquijlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca ichoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixquich, ça tlacujtlapiloa, ichoatl in qujmomaca cuextecatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. [535] Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn xuchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaiaoalo in teucalli.

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, teboatl tlachinolli, id est, iaoiutl, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic ceniazque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, ieputzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn tzõtli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh. [533]

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuztlaioc, oc cepa cenquixoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujniquac motlatiizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quexqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço- [714]

34. See Sahagún, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1208. Sahagún mentions (pp. 133, 132) a painted, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose piece; a golden ear pendent; and spindles. Elsewhere these relate to the worship of Xiuhteuctli among the Huastecs, or also "the Mexicans were [keen to proclaim] themselves to be the servants, followers, labourers, of the old mother of the gods, Totec tzinte, the Huastec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huastecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from them." [776 177]

richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[15] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocatecujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj momatlaçaque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauiçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no tototecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in intetеupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in odlecoque: njman ie qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcocenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoā aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoā tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixoa njman ie ic vi in motlatiuque: njmā ie ic oaltemo in tiçatl yoā hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jepac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncā Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cēca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçcani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiquiça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmā ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

15. *"Los sátrapas, de la diosa chicomecoatl"* (corresponding Spanish text).
16. *"Estos se subian, cuando era en pequeño, que se llamauan [dize] la quesa de cinifebuchtli"* (loc. cit.). *Codex Borbonicus*, mouth of Ochpaniztli, illustrates it. Pina y Troncoso, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
17. *Xinhotzinlli*, in Simeon (*op. cit.*) is defined as *maiz rosado*. See, however, n. 12, p. 62.
18. *"Poniendo abaxo, en un lugar que se llamaua cuauhpil, que era en espacio, que auia entre las gradas del en, y el patio abaxo, al qual espacio subia por cima, o ayx, gradas"* (corresponding Spanish text).

[796] came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come [346] down, then he went direct to [the place] called the god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

obuchtli: in ocaltemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in motenecoa Teutlachco: vncan quimõmjctia navintin: vme amapan, vme vappatzan: in oqujmõmjcti, mec qujnvivilana, tlachco: iuhqujn ic tlatlacujloa imeraço.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then [778] he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan qujça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonocalco: vncan cantiqujça itoca Quavitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichioal, tel çan ie motiçaoaoan:

And when [the latter] had greeted [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

auh in oconantiquiz, mec vi, vmpan ommocolloa tlaxotlan: njmã ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiquiça, çan iciuhca:

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan quiça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izqujtlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiquiça, in conmjctia, itoca Izqujtecatl:

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acacninanco.

mec vi, vncã quiztiquiça in tepetocan, ie coioocã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncã oallacoloa: njman ic qujoalmelaoa in acachinanco.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in iehoãtin tlaamavia, iquac peoa, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlatoca Paynal.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [These latter] [714] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilti, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequintin tiacaoan: qujnmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cujtlachixxo: çan ocoquavitl in immac oonoc.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird [411] arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, [some] were slain. battle was joined;

Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatzontectli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilti qujnnamjquj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiotl in muchioaia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 282, the four slaves were sacrificed in a ball court (*tezcatlacko*)—not in the *Juevio* of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the *Juevio* of Tezcatlacko.

10. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods. See, however, corresponding Spanish text.

11. Though the Nahuatl text describes the movements of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: *"Luego descendia en andrajos, con gran presea trayendo en los brazos, la estatua de paynal, asiento de Vitzilopochtli."* This point was stressed in the trappings of Quetzalcoatl, according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 282).

12. *"Allí le salia a recevbir, el andrajo de aquel ca, con la ymagen del dios Quetzalcoat"* (corresponding Spanish text).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

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714 Twelfth Chapter, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars.

Inic matlactlomome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: inic mochichioaia in tlatoque, in qujxtlauja inapan.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold.

Tlauhquecholtzontli tlaçotlaqujj contic tencujtlaio: cenca mjiec in quetzalli icencetlacacaio: injcal in tlamamalli, vepeti in colotli tlachiuhtli, contic tencujtlaio:

[237]

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *xapote* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

auh in ichcatl cuammaquja tlatlauhquj, tlauhquecholiujtl injc tlachiuhtli: contic tencujtlaui in jcxtepaio, auh in jtzapacxic mochiuhtoc çan moch quetzalli.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

Chimalli, contic tencujtlaui, in tlatzontli imamaio, tlaçoiujtl in jxnelaquillo mochiuhtoc,

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

chalchiuhcocotl, tlacnequjztlli in elelitiuhquj, in veuej, chalchiujtl, ioan texiuijtl

The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers.

[237]

xiuhtototzontli, contic tencujtlaio, quetzalli in jcxcuetlacacaio, in jtzontecon conmaqueja tlatemuj: auh in jtlac conaquja xiuhtotocuetl,

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

auh in tlamamalli xoxouhquj vepeti in colotli tlachiuhtli contic tencujtlaio

All quetzal feathers was its *xapote* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of thin gold [plate].

çan muchi quetzalli in jtzapacxic, mochi tlaçoiujtl in jtlapiollo, contic tencujtlaui in tlacamaolli in jtetecpaio, in xiuhtotocuetl,

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

Its *xapote* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

ocelotexi, ocelocuetl injc tlachiuhtli, contic tencujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli in jtetecpaio,

ça muchi quetzalli in jtzapacxic,

The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches.

[231]

ocelocuetl in tlamamalli contic tencujtlatl injc tlatlaujtequj.

The shield was canopied with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Chimalli xiuhtotoxica tzaqujj, contic tencujtlatl ic itixapo,

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1. *Tzompaxic*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *espejo de oro* whose one translation was "flint knives." The shape of the *espejo* is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also Simeon, *op. cit.*, and Seler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 394, where *Itztecomaxtle* is used consistently.
2. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* follows *matchuhuitzi* with *ye ixmahuiltic quetzalli ye ixmahuiltic matchuhuitzi*—some quetzal feathers, to which small grasshoppers [of gold] are added at the points.
3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Y colgaua detras ybanais, hecha las orejuelas, en cimadas pequeñuelas, puestas en una cuadrada, cruza para llenar cuerpo.*" This passage Seler (*op. cit.*, II, p. 394) translates as "*Dann wird auf den Rücken eine Trommel getragen, auf einem Gestell bestehend, der mit Gold überzogen ist.*"

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The quetzal feather butterfly was the burden for the back; with it belonged the yellow parrot feather shirt, [decorated] with hawk scratches in gold.

The shield with a golden disc had a golden butterfly in the middle. [There was] a quetzal feather claw,* with gold. The shirt [which belonged to this] was of yellow parrot feathers.

The golden hood had horns of quetzal feathers; its shirt was of yellow parrot feathers.

The silver hood had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch [decorations] in gold.

[There were] the quetzal feather banner of the spear house; the silver banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top; and the golden banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top.

The finely wrought obsidian butterfly was of quetzal feathers and gold; its teeth and claws were all of precious feathers; and it had quetzal feather horns.

The finely wrought butterfly of [the goddess] Xochiquetzal [was made of] precious feathers; and its horns were of gold and quetzal feathers.

[There was] a quetzal feather crest-like device. With it belonged a blue cotinga-feather shirt; the shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

The Xolotl head of yellow parrot feathers, with balls of quetzal feathers, was ornamented with gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch decorations in gold.

The blue Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a blue shirt.

The white Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a white shirt.

The bright red Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold; its shirt was likewise bright red.

The headdress of trupial feathers was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers.

The yellow demon of the air was made all of gold, and had quetzal feathers and balls of quetzal feathers.

The blue demon of the air had quetzal feathers, was made all of gold, and had balls of quetzal feathers.

quetzalpapalotl in tlamamalli, inamjc toçeoatl, coztic teucujtlatl injc tlotloujtecquj.

Chimalli teocujtlatica itixapo, teucujtlapapalotl ijtic manj quetzalxopilli, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl in jeoaio.

Coztic teucujtlaquacalalatli, iquetzalquaquauh, jeoaio coztic toçeoatl.

Iztac teucujtlaquacalalatli, quetzaltecomaio: inamjc toçeoatl coztic teucujtlatl ic tlotloujtecquj

quetzalpanjtl tlacochcalcaiotl. Iztac teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio. Coztic teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio.

Itzpapalotl tlaçotlanquj quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jtlan, in jizti muchi tlaçoiujtl: iquetzalquaquauh.

Xochiquetzalpapalotl, tlaçotlanquj in tlaçoiujtica: ioan coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzalquaquauh

quetzalpatzactli, xiuhtotoeoatl iujcallo in chimalli xiuhtotoica tzacquj, coztic teucujtlatl ic itixapo,

tozquauxolotl iquetzaltemal, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl inamjc, coztic teucujtlatl injc motlotloujtec,

xoxouhquj quauxolotl, quetzallo coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc xoxouhquj coatl.

Iztac quauxolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc iztac coatl.

Chichiltic quauxolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jeoaio, çan no chichiltic.

Çaquantzontli, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio toçeoatl inamjc,

tzitzitzimjtl: muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, quetzallo, iquetzaltemal.

Xoxouhquj tzitzimjtl, quetzallo, muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, iquetzaltemal.

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4. Cf. discussion in Seler, op. cit., II, pp. 1002, as well as corresponding Spanish text—"y manera de chapa, y en medio la orilla avia una flecadura, de pluma roja, y otra azul."

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac taitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643 714

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, izquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in ecatl, toçoatl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 531

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in ecatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecuçiztli, ioan quiquixtli in mopitza 534
iauc inje çemeoa iauquixque, inje mjcali: in quach- 727
panjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in tecujtia in iauc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in jxquj quachpanjtl. Niman çemeoa in iauquixque, inje mjcali,

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic 643
mantiuh in quetzalli ioaltic. Xiloxochipetzactli, que- 714
tzalli in jixoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jca-
naoacân mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomal-
tectli. Maquaujtl iztzo in jtenco tlatectli, que-
tzalaxaxontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in [441]
jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in
jpoçoaca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio
mjiec in quetzalli.

[p. 36 has no textual material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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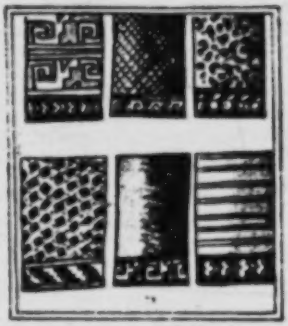

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[701
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[723]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's *array—napelli, cuaxil* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

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[714
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411]
[727
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[693]
[726
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[695]

—Alfred Percy y Trumbull

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

**Seventeenth Chapter**, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

**FIRST PARAGRAPH**, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads —where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos —the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Aztacalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzintepec. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

**Injc cxxtolli omome cap^o.** vncan mjtoa in jnneie- 643
hecoliz in tlatqque: in quenjn vel qujchioazque inte-
qujuh, in jntlatocaio.

**INJC CE PARRAPHO:** vncan mjtoa, ioan in 643
tlatecpanaliztli, in qujtitlanja injc iauqujçaia. 701

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca in iauiotl, injc iehoatl qujtzontequj, qujtecpana, qujçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in 643
connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in 723
campa oujca, in campa ic calacoaz, in ie iuhquj achto
oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlali: in
altepetl, in poliujz, ie onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui [102]
vtli, in campa oujcan, quezqujcan in calacoaz.

Niman ic qujoalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque in quezqujcan calaqujz iauqujzquj, in quezquilhuitl monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc iehoantin, iautlatozque qujnnaoatizque: in jxqujch in quauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioã tlaujztli.

Auh in iehoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in 643
jxqujchtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauh- 714
naoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl:
tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappa-
necatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl,
matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl,
axocopanecatl, itzcujncujtlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aio-
tzintepecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc qujoalcujzque, in
jxqujch in jnpiel, in tlacalaqujlli, in tlaçotlanquj
tlaujztli in coztic teucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jxqujch
tlaçochimalli.

Auh in jcoac oqujoalitqujque in calpixque: in 643
jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli: iehoatl tlatoanj, nj- 701
man qujcencaoa qujntlaujzmaca in jxqujchtin tlaço-
pipilti, in ie imjxco ca iautiliztli: ioan in jxqujchtin

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
648

[714]

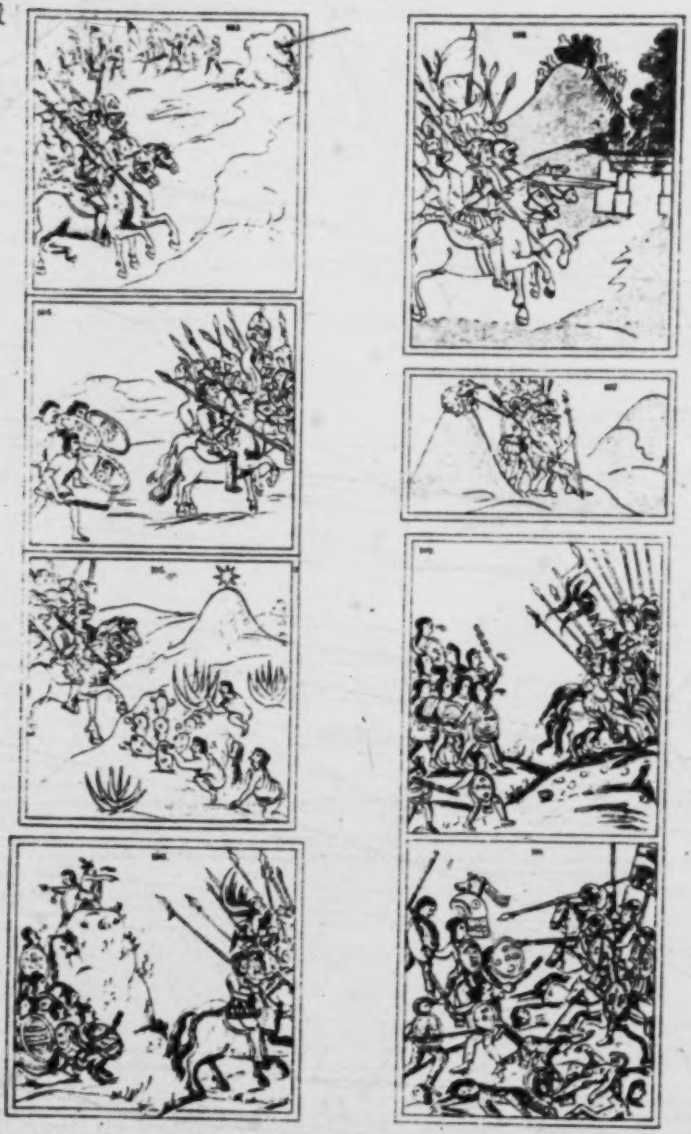
[411
482]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Itzquauhtzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

532



[726
714

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

103. Spaniards reach Tepeaxotlan (Chapter 26). 104. Mexican warriors pursue the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 105. Spaniards reach Cuitlatepec (Chapter 26). 106. Spaniards reach Xalac (Chapter 26). 107. Spaniards reach Axtaquemecan (Chapter 26). 108. Mexicans on mountain-top watch for the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 27). 109, 110. Battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27).

[p. 44 (P)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
648
714
502
724

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Cuitlauac arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a nobleman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Cuitlauac is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p. 44 (T)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[9] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[10]

[712] Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ᵛ) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

*Regional names.*—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[11] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[11]

651 TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[12] of mantles *colchadas*••
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white••
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)••
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses••
400 bundles of little white mantles••
1,600 bundles of large mantles••
● [714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)•

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and
[263] *chian*•
200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[9] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[10] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[11] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[11] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[12] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[88] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[89] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[90] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[91] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[71] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263 263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323 314] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[88] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[89] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[90] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[91] Corrected from 1,200.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[**] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles[**]
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)[*]

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian[*]
2,000 vessels of white salt[**]

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[**] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[**] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[**] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



*Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

*Regional names.*—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[28] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

## 6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[28] *PNF* 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[241] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
● 714 800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

## 8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan
[128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[36] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[37] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[36] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[37] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[m]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
● 714 400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 632 317 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[n] Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

## 10. QUAUHTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauhtitlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north [128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[m] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Imperio de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[n] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

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651

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285] 4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

## 11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [125] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Acaxochitla, 7 | [Missing] |
| Michmaloyan, 5 | Michimaloyan |
| Tecoçauhtla, 11 | Tecozautla |
| Tepetitlan, 6 | Tepetitlán |
| Tzayanalquilpan, 3 | Soyaniquilpan |
| Xilotepec, 2 | Jilotepec |

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[36] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[37] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

*Regional names.*—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[38] but apparently did not overlap with it.

## TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino*, the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

### CLOTHING

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[39] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[40] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

### FOOD

4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

### OTHER GOODS

1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[41]

[36] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[37] Cf. n. 35 above.
[38] *PNE*, 6: 201.
[39] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[40] Corrected from 400.
[41] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the north lay the republic of Metz-635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all
Empire provinces.

*Regional names.*—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[80] This term is defined as "tierra
de los dioses."[81] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth
century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It
does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan
in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlal-
pan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING [291
714]

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD** [262
263]

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made
nine special milpas for its overlords.[82]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[80] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[81] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[82] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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635 ***Regional names.***—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[87] as did Tequixquiac[88] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[89]

TRIBUTE

651 ***Tribute of the whole province.***—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 400 little decorated mantles**
● 714] 400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[263 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
263] 400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 ***Tribute of the component towns.***—Some of the elements of the
632 tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[90]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[91]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[92]

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[87] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[88] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[89] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[90] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[91] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[92] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers*

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton*

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?]
400 deerskins
100 live deer
100 large (live) parrots
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.*

* Corrected from 800.

** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalsocl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatxiubque [Ilacatziubque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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816 bundles[a] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
408 bundles[b] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[c] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven provinces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[d] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure than that given by the *Mendocino*.[e] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[f]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[g]

[a] Corrected from 800.
[b] Corrected from 400.
[c] Corrected from 400.
[d] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[e] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[f] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehuetli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenian todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[g] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
714] 800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in
652 identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.*

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.*

## 19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8
114 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

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| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Acaxochitla, 3 | Acaxochitlán |
| Atotonilco, 1 | Atotonilco el Grande |
| Hueyapan, 5 | [No change] |
| Quechquexcalcoyá, 2 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tulançinco, 4 | Tulancingo |
| Çuilmiquilico | [See Remarks on Towns] |

* RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á montençuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
** RHE, 1: 481: "ordinariamente tributauan á montençuma mantas de algodon."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Quauhquechpaloyan* is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[a] and seventeen leagues from México." As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears eight leagues from Hueyacocotla." It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century."

*Çtzihuinquilocs* may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants.*—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiquity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún comments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco." These ruins have only recently been surveyed." Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque," and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Atotonilco el Grande lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of the province of Atotonilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich mantles[o]
2,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen[o]
4 warriors' costumes with shields[o]

[a] *FNE*, 3: 91.
[b] *FNE*, 2: No. 135.
[c] *GPM*, p. 270.
[d] *FNE*, 2: No. 21.
[e] RHE, 1: 240: "Entre leuante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños entre tulançinquilocs [*sic*] y tolyztaca y el pueblo de tepopulco está cinco leguas cuenta Yzcoa."
[f] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[g] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 159.

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TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD [262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632
of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651
maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cempoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412]
After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.*

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412]
Ahuitzotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.*

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** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

* RHE, 1:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de texcoco ACOLHUAYOTZIN andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico yzcoatzin pusieron los pueblos de xenpuala y tiaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tenpoala se quedo en el señorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de texcoco Reyno de acolhuaca tributavan sobrejas con que heran macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico yzcoahuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuizotzin sucesor de montezuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de baleneria [this for a new temple] como mandio Montezuma en su lugar no quiso pareciendo tributos."

* RHE, 1:142: "vnas del señorio de texcoco ... no tributavan nada solamente sobrejas con que heran macanas y siendo señor en mexico yzcoahuatzin pidiole al señor de texcoco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonces se dividio este pueblo porque ganaue tambien el señor de mexico las sobrejas la mitad llevo el de texcoco y otra mitad el de mexico y entro tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como coapalmeca tiaquilpa pochuca tepeapan y tenanticpac todos estos pueblos pusieron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a estar sobrejas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el ahuizotzin que

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frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

## 22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matrícula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23r, with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23v. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

| MENDOCINO | 1910 MAP | MENDOCINO | 1910 MAP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acatlyepec, 4 | Acatlipa | Quauhnahuac, 2 | Cuernavaca |
| Amacuzac, 14 | Amacuzac | Teocalçinco, 17 | Teocalzingo (Gro.) |
| Atlacholoya, 9 | Atlacholoya | Xiuhtepec, 3 | Xiutepec |
| Coatlan, 7 | Coatlán del Río | Xochitepec, 6 | [No change] |
| Chimalco, 16 | Panchimalco | Xoxoutla, 15 | Jojutla de Juárez |
| Huiçilapã, 1 | Huitzilac | Yztla, 11 | Puente de Ixtla |
| Miacatla, 5 | [No change] | | |

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [1] o comunalmente corrompiendo agora saben llamalle y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[a] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province."

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[b] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

*Regional names.*—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[c]

### TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

#### CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields**[d]

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[a] *Códice Ramírez*, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis reinos . . ."

[b] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaloicoes [*sic*] . . . los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por principal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquilenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[c] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[d] *Códice Ramírez*, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuicas."

[e] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matrícula* it is clearly marked "cotecpantli cuextecatl xuetli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kann Bild kennen, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Device gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–609).

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[*] while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[*]

*Regional names.*—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[*] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[*]

### TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

**CLOTHING**

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

**FOOD***

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

**OTHER GOODS****

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

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[*] *FNE*, 6: 286.

[*] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexocingo, Tascala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*FNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[*] "Estan las dichas tres cabeçeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*FNE*, 6: 10).

[*] RHE, 11: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas dentro villa [Yecapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamente no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepeçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran entrar cabeçeras."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[a]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles[b]
1 warrior's costume with shield[c]

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey[d]

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[e]

[a] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitzilcoatl, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quauhitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen tepoxaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[b] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "beuu amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecoxahuitl con que untan y tiñen jicaras, y ablandan manos y pies."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Nāhuatl word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

*Regional names.*—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *FNE*, 5: 57: "Tlantla ... está en la provincia de los Totolteca de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Mixteca sujetos a la doctrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Totolin."

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*Provincial borders in 1519.*—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

*Regional names.*—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[20] of black-and-white striped mantles[20a]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[9]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[20a,21]

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1] and liquidambar.[20]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[20]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

## 27. QUAUHTOCHCO

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[22] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

| MENDOCINO | 1908 MAP | MENDOCINO | 1908 MAP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahuilizapan, 5 | Orizaba | Tuchçonco, 3 | Tozongo |
| Quauhtochco, 2 | Huatusco | Ytzteyocan, 4 | S. Nicolas |
| Totodan, 1 | Totutla | | |

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[20] Corrected from 1,600.
[20a] Cf. Krickeberg, *Las totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[9] Cf. n. 6 above.
[21] RHE, 1: 460: "cera baxillos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[22] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.
[1] [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

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*Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1538), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield**
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads**
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

---

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Toochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sujetó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyoctzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y vistosas de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más trojuna y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil paletes de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes tenían cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de armas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ixtlilxochitl. See Tributes of the Component Towns, below.
** Also from Ixtlilxochitl.

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635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 400 large mantles**
714] 1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[a]
533] 10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[b]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies
651 and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[c]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[d]

[a] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 73), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[b] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[c] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente . . . daua . . . a la jente de guerra que por el passaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " . . . enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á montecuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia montecuma jente de guarnicion apercebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á montecuma."

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses**
402 bundles** of little red-striped mantles**
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

*Tribute of the component towns.*—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.* In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.**

* Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

** Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

* *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Motecuçoma ... le davan una vara de oro maçiço de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabeças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunes."

** *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en polvo y dos mantas de dos braças cada una, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia una gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en una huerta de cacao y todos jamas quando es menester la benefician."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—This province seems to have been formed out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[33] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[34]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south lay sister Mixtec states such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec.

*Regional names.*—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers

## 35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 43r of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven principal towns,[35] all of which have been found. They lay in northern Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[33] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tuxtepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[34] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[35] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Cuauteco."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated 175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of 865 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not 131 actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*
** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291] 714
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly)

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

## 38. Petlacalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

| MENDOCINO | 1937 MAP |
|---|---|
| Auchpanco | Ayapango |
| Cocotlan, 15 | [No change] |
| Colhuacacinco | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Cuitlahuac, 11 | Tlahuac |
| Huiçilopochco, 9 | Churubusco |
| Mizquic, 14 | [No change] |
| Olac, 12 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Petlacalcatl, 8 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tecalco | [No change] |
| Tecoloapan, 7 | |
| Tepopulan, 16 | [No change] |
| Tezcacoac | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tzapotitlan, 10 | Zapotitlan |
| Xico, 13 | [No change] |

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

| | |
|---|---|
| Acapan | Tlaçoxiuhco |
| Nexxitlan | Toyac |
| Tepechpan | Xaxalpan |
| Tequemecan | Yopico |

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

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### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlalmanalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

*Regional names.*—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

### TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

#### CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

#### FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



411 his sword attached or suspended from the wrist.[51] Clubs ("quauhololli") may have been also in use. But battle-axes, or anything like the Peruvian "chumpi," do not appear to have been known to the Mexicans.[52]

●714 If now we turn to the *defensive* arms, to the *protective armour* proper, of the Mexicans, we meet in the first instance the *shield* ("chimalli"). Not the merely ornamental shields used and carried by warriors and chiefs on festive occasions only,[53] but the

"con agudos Pedernales, engeridos por los filos, . . . que dando grandes golpes no se "deshacia; cortaban en lo blando, quanto topaban, pero en lo duro resurtian, como eran "los filos muy delgados". Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). "The first blows alone "were fearful, as the edge soon wore out." (The name "Macuahuitl" may derive from "maitl," hand, and "cuahuitl," tree). The tables accompanying the work of Durán have many representations of the maccuahuitl. The "handle" or hilt is usually formed by a ball or knob, sometimes by a ring.

[51] H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America. Vol. II, p. 411). If we have not heretofore quoted, and may perhaps not quote hereafter, this splendid compilation, it is merely because we revert to original authorities, and not at all out of disregard for the highly valuable assemblage of data which the distinguished author has furnished to science.

[77] [52] Mr. Bancroft has given a fine illustration of a club used by some of the Indians of the *present Republic of Mexico*. But among the Mexicans proper, the sword, "maccuahuitl," was the most common and frequently used weapon. Clavigero figures it like the blade of a saw-fish, with teeth; and Tezozomoc calls it "espadarte." But there can be no doubt that the intention of the Indians was to make a *continuous blade* (or edge), and not a *row of teeth*. (Along the sea-coast the "proboscis" of the saw-fish may have been *used occasionally as a weapon*, but it certainly never furnished a *type*.) The Peruvian "chumpi" was a peculiar weapon, and has nothing analogous elsewhere on this continent. It required both hands to wield it. An illustration of it is found in Herrera, Frontispiece to the fifth Decade, where the portraits of thirteen Yncas are given. Both Manco-Capac and Viracocha each hold a "chumpi" or spear terminating in a broad star, like the "Morgenstern" of the Swiss. Some authors persist in giving to the Mexican sword the name of "macana," but this word is not Mexican. Neither is it Caribe. It was imported from the Antilles by the Spaniards, and is probably "arua." Von Tschudi "Peru, Reise-skizzen" (St. Gall, 1846) describes, vol. 2, chap. 7. p. 231, the macana still in use among the wild Indians of the Peruvian "Montañas," East of the Andes. He says: "the sword, macana, is also, like the bow, made out of the hard "chunta. This wood is dark brown, very hard and heavy. The macana is four feet "long, one inch thick, and five to six inches broad; at the handle it is only three inches "wide and rounded, both edges are as sharp as those of a sabre." The same author describes also the club, "matuaino," of the same tribes. It is a rough imitation of the "chumpi" of the Incas, deer-prongs taking the places of the metallic star. Its length is about four to five feet. Durán also has drawings of a *Mexican* club, corresponding to the figure given by Mr. H. H. Bancroft.

[53] These shields, richly ornamented with featherwork, were used at great festivals, at the dances. Illustrations are given in Herrera, Frontispiece to the second Decade, in Clavigero, and especially in the "Raccolta di Mendoza," printed in Lord Kingsborough. They were frequently sent as presents, and among the presents which Cortés received while at Vera-Cruz, Gomara mentions once twenty-four, and again five, of such shields. "Cinco rodelas de pluma y plata," and "veinte y cuatro rodelas de oro y "pluma y aljofar, vistosos y de mucho primor" (Vedia I, p. 323). He distinguishes them from the war-shield which he describes as "una rodela de palo y cuero, y á la re- "donda campanillas de laton morisco, y la capa de una plancha de oro, esculpida en "ella Vitzilopuchtli, dios de las batallas, y en aspa cuatro cabezas con su pluma é pelo, "al vivo y desollado, que eran de leon, de tigre, de aquila, y de un buarro."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



round, small, "target," worn by the "brave" on his left arm and made of "canes netted together and interwoven with cotton 'two-"fold,' covered on the outside with gilded boards and with feath-"ers, and so strong that a hard cross-bow shot could alone pene-"trate them . . . ."[54]

With this shield they warded off blows in close combat,[55] and even arrows and darts at full speed. Each warrior probably carried his own shield, although it is sometimes stated that the archers, while shooting, were shielded by others.[56] This, however, would necessarily imply a greater progress of the military art among the Mexicans than we may safely allow.

The remainder of the protective armour of the Mexicans is intimately connected with their *costume*.

The ordinary dress of a Mexican consisted of a sleeveless jacket ("huepil") fastened on the right shoulder, and of the breechcloth ("maxtlatl"). The head, arms, and legs from the knees downwards, were bare. A mantle, short among the common Indians, longer among the chiefs, completed the costume.[57] Sometimes they went to war without any other protection, but in most cases the warrior wore a frock of quilted cotton, about three-quarters of

[54] The "anonymous conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373). Compare Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 423), and Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[55] See the description of a single combat between a Cempoaltecan and Tlaxcaltecan (Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. VI, p. 143, and Torquemada, Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422).

[56] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII) and the anonymous conqueror both assert, that each warrior had a shield. But Fray G. de Méndieta is still more positive (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Tras estos llegaban los golpes de espada y rodela, con los cuales iban "arrodelaldos los de arco y flecha, y allí gastaban su almacen." However, Fray Diego Durán says: (Cap. XIV, p. 121) "y llegados á un lugar que llaman Tecuitlatenco, hicie-"ron alto y esperaron la armada de Mexico que venian por la laguna, que eran mill "canoas, muy bien Aderesadas de gente y pauesas con gran numero de flagas y varas "arrojadizas, flechas y rodelas y de hombres para defensa de los flecheros, los quales "estauan tan diestros en desviar flechas con las rodelas, que era espanto, porque en "viendola venir, luego la dauan con la rodela que la echauan à través." This seems to indicate that there were special men detailed to protect the archers, and therefore a division into different arms, although there is no other evidence of such a fact. It may have been the case here, since the fight (against Cuitlahuac) was to take place on water chiefly, but nowhere else do we meet a division into kinds of arms, like archers, spear-men, swordsmen, etc., etc. All Mexican warriors were armed as nearly alike as possible. The Anonymous Conqueror, after mentioning the different weapons, says: "y "molti, è la maggior parti di esse portano tutte queste sorti di armi con che combat-"tono." ("Relatione, etc.," in Vol. I. of Col. de Doc., p. 374.)

[57] Gomara (Conquista de México. Vedia, Tom. I. p. 440. "Calzan unos zapatos como "alpargates, punicos por bragas. Visten una manta quadrada, afiadada al hombro "derecho como gitanas"). The Anonymous Conqueror (p. 376. "La maniera del ves-"tire de gli huomini"). Tezozomoc (Crónica, Cap. XXXVI, p. 56. "the macehuals "of lower grade, wore short mantles, plain, of cotton or nequen"). The "maxtlatl" is described by the Anonymous Conqueror as follows: "a towel, like unto a sheet

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



● 714 an inch thick, up to one and one-half inches, and therefore strong enough to resist an arrow-shot, or even the dart at long range. This was the cotton-armour subsequently adopted by the Spaniards under the name of "Escaupil" ("Ichcahuipilli").[58] Sometimes even the limbs were encased in such quilted armour,[59] and the outside of the "ichcahuipil" was adorned with feathers and plates of gold or silver. The *feet* were protected by leather soles or moccasin-like shoes ("cactli," "cotaras"), but the use of them was not general.[60] Warriors of merit especially, inserted their *heads*

[711] "worn over the head while travelling, of various colors, and variously adorned, with "the ends hanging downwards, one in front and the other behind." It was common to the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, and is represented on the sculptures of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Chichen-Itza. The tables of Durán give, perhaps, the most reliable picture of these costumes.

[58] "Ichcahuipilli" derives from "Ichcatl," cotton, and "huepil," jacket. Alvarado, in his second letter to Cortés, dated 28 July, 1524 (Vedia. Vol. 1), mentions an ichcahuipil used by Indians of Guatemala, which was three inches thick and reached as far down as the ankle: "porque venian tan armados, que el que caia en el suelo no se po- "dia levantar; y con sus armas cosseletes de tres dedos de algodon, y hasta en los "pies. . . . ." (p. 402.)

[59] There are several representations of such protection of the thighs, and also of the arms, especially in the splendid work of Lord Kingsborough, taken from the Mendoza codex. The entire costume, from the neck to the knee, seems to be of one piece. We have no accurate *description*, however, of them. It is doubtful whether they terminated into upper "leggings," or whether into a frock-like continuation, reaching from the girdle to the knee. Perhaps both; at least there are traces of both. (Anonymous Conqueror, p. 374. Clavigero, Lib. VII, cap. XXIII.) The absence of the "Ichcahuipil" was not, however, always a sign of low rank. Some warriors of particular merit even went to war almost naked (See Humboldt, "Vues de Cordillières," Tab. XIV, fig. 4), and Herrera (Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 267, speaking of the natives of Tepeaca, who were subject to Mexico: "and the most valiant ones went only in breech-cloth, painting their naked body black and red"). There was, consequently, no absolute uniformity and uniform distinction in dress and armament, and this was still increased by the variety of customs among the numerous tribes which assisted the Mexicans in war, each tribe having its own manner of dress, and keeping separate on the battlefield. A Mexican army must have been a rather strange, motley crowd. Still there was, in all probability, less variety than among the Peruvian warlike bodies. Of the latter's variegated array the report of Francisco de Xerez, secretary of Pizarro, gives a good illustration (Vedia, vol. II).

[60] "Cactli," corrupted into "catle," is rendered by Molina (II, p. 11) as "shoes, or sandals." Torquemada says (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 430, vol. I): "the King wore "golden shoes, which they call cacles, and are after the fashion of those of the ancient "Romans, adorned with much jewelry, the soles fastened with cords." (Idem: Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 326) "they gave to him cotaras or sandals . . . ." Gomara (Conquista, etc., p. 321), in the list of presents sent by Cortés to the Emperor, mentions: "many shoes like us of grass, made of deer-hides, some with golden thread, and the "soles of certain white and blue stones . . . ." "other shoes, six pairs, of leather "of different color, adorned with gold or silver or pearls." The question is, whether they were moccasins or sandals. The sculptures of Palenqué show an approach to either. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), in speaking of the distinctions of dress, says: "And [712] "thus it was ordained, first: that the Kings should not appear in public, except in ur- "gent cases; that the King alone might wear a crown in the city, but that in war all the "great chiefs and valiant captains might wear crowns also, and royal tahans . . . .

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imitating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes [643
"in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes [645]
"on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those
"who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their
"bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and
"painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "cotaras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation achieved in war, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe."

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 378). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 3d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the homicide titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 218). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer
"las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-
"maria, doradas y labradas con diversas labores y pinturas y diferencialias quando á
"él le pareciese, sin tener excepcion en traer y usar las mantas qual quisiese; y los
"grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los
"de menos valia, como viese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó hazaña, otras diferentes; los
"soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni
"diferencia, mas de aquella que allí se le señalaba con sus cañidores y bragueros, que
"alindan y siguien la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente,
"so pena de la vida, calió determinado que ninguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese
"otra manta sino de nequen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la
"rodilla, y el alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, salvo si
"no tuviese alguna señal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le oviesen dado,
" . . . ." Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 36). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 37). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 247). The figure of the Aztec in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war [302]
"they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once,
"since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and were. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names.

[64] The head-dress, or "divice."—"tlauitli," or "quetzalpetzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 288, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty- [263]
"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



714 237 237 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each subdivision of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time; [302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 86) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-totocil." It is "*Trogon resplendens*." (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1871," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 86, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquechol" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1860, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 180, in vol. II. of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 267, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to imitate the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face yellow ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was blue (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372. "tiznándose las caras con la tizne divina, quelles así llamauan, y el rey Auit-"zotl vestido de ricas mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas aquas . ."